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summary of the safety movement. Similarly a chapter on "medical care" brings in the value and methods of the medical examination, the plant medical equipment the medical staff, dental and optical clinics, and hospitals and sanatoria. A study of records, costs, and control follows, with a conclusion on health education.

"Methods of remuneration" embrace the basic wage, time, piece, and premium methods, and profit sharing, as well as the more recently advocated non-financial incentives, which are discussed under the heading "work stimuli other than regular wages." Housing under various community conditions, and the different forms of community activities in which employers have taken part, are presented in a chapter on "the employer and the community." Insurance, savings, and loans as well as accident compensation, mutual-aid societies, and pensions are brought together for review.

The volume is concluded with an all too brief chapter on the "organization of the department of labor administration," a subject which could profitably have been treated at greater length even at the cost of omitting some of the other material.

The book is well indexed, and a selected bibliography for each chapter is provided, taken chiefly from the best current periodicals, from government documents, and other reports.

As a whole, the book fills a real need and is a refreshing relief from the flood of visionary literature which has recently been poured upon us in an effort to supply the want.

MILDRED J. JANOVSKY

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*The Story of the Nonpartisan League—A Chapter in American Evolution.* By CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL. Harper & Brothers, 1920. Pp. 333. Eight illustrations. \$2.00.

The author of this book spent several weeks in North Dakota, when the Nonpartisan League was being organized, as one of President A. C. Townley's most valued advisers. He prepared at that time a series of propaganda articles, which were printed in *Pearson's Magazine* and sent to League members. He had therefore an active part in forming the League. He writes accordingly as an advocate, not as a historian. In this book, however, he cultivates the idea that he is writing as a detached and disinterested historian.

The book falls into two main parts: the first part (180 pages) describes the economic and political background of the League—the

setting of the stage; the second part (140 pages) brings Townley on the stage and traces the League's origin and growth covering the years 1915 to 1919 inclusive. The book is well indexed.

The style and substance of the book are well illustrated by the keynote story with which the author begins—five farmers eating in a Washington restaurant, paying \$11.95 for the meal, the raw materials of which netted the producers 84 cents, indicating thereby that the farmer is robbed of most of the fruits of his labor by his enemy, the middleman. The thesis of the first part of the book is, that farming in North Dakota (prior to the coming of the League) did not pay, because the middlemen took from the farmer the bulk of his product. The middleman system had “perverted and bedeviled” the process of distribution. “In one of the most fertile regions of the world, with every advantage of accessibility and great markets, farming was an unprofitable calling” (p. 184). In one day in the summer of 1914, says the author, he counted seven abandoned farms (p. 5). He ought to have said abandoned houses, for there are no abandoned farms in North Dakota.

Slowly, chapter by chapter, he develops the story of the “abuses”—high interest rates, ranging from 14 to 48 per cent (p. 35); high freight rates—five cents a bushel higher than Canadian farmers are paying (p. 38); the undergrading of the farmer's wheat—his one big crop—an “evil” reflected back from the dark terminal practices in Minneapolis and Duluth whither the farmers' grain moves; the overdockage of the wheat, both at the local and at the terminal elevator; the underweighing of the grain also at both places; the “mixing” of the grain in the terminal elevator whereby lower grades are mingled with better grades and the mixture all selling for the higher grade; and finally the grain is sold at 5 cents below the market price (p. 39). This is a gloomy picture indeed, of every man's hand against the honest farmer. The author summarizes the evils thus:

The farmer raised the wheat and other men took the profit; other men that never turned a sod nor held a plow nor forwarded a bushel of wheat, but stood in line to snatch from the bushel as it passed. All along the line it was one story of loss. The farmer lost when he borrowed money at exorbitant rates, when he sold his wheat on fictitious grades fixed against him by a power over which he had no control, when he was docked for impurities that did not exist, when his wheat was hawked about the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce by parasitical or phantom handlers and unnecessary brokers, when it went to a mixing-house to be hocused and doctored, when it was hauled at extravagant rates by waterlogged railroads, when he was charged for switching that

was never done and sales that were never made. And all this supported and buttressed by huge organizations, the huge bank, the huge financial interest, the huge railroad company, the huge milling concern, the wealth, power, politics, social organization of the entire Northwest in one solid enduring league.

The "big business" interests, particularly the railroads, banks, millers, and grain dealers, he pictures as centering in the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce. The real focus of the "evil" he makes the terminal elevator. In contrast with the farmer's poverty he refers to the "great fortunes and imposing palaces of the grain kings of the Northwest" (p. 160).

On such a stage as this Townley comes. The author describes his plunge in flax growing in western North Dakota, and says he was "ruined" by gamblers on the Chicago Board of Trade who beat down the price of flax. As a matter of fact, it was a crop failure (due to bad weather), not a low price for flax, that bankrupted Mr. Townley. Townley's experience as orator and organizer for the Socialist party now stood him in good stead. He began in 1915 to organize the League. Soon a field force in Ford cars are canvassing every farmer in the state, working on a commission basis. Membership dues, at first \$6 a year, are soon raised to \$9, and then to \$16 for a two-year period. The League is strong enough to enter politics in 1916, and make a campaign for state-owned terminal elevators. The fight against the League is bitter to the last degree. But with its paid membership of 40,000, it wins the election, takes control of the Republican party organization, puts a farmer, Lynn J. Frazier, in the governor's chair, elects a supreme court, the state executive officers, the lower house of the legislature, and nearly one-half of the upper house. A terminal elevator bill is passed, but vetoed by the governor as not being suited to the needs. "There had never been," says the author, "a legislature in the history of the United States that in an equal space of time enacted an equal number of betterment measures" (p. 229).

At this point the author devotes twenty pages to the war record of the League—a very delicate subject. George Creel is quoted as authority that Townley's war record, once he was set right by the Washington administration, was correct—better, indeed, than that of "partisan papers like the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Kansas City Star*, and the *Philadelphia North American*" (p. 246).

In the legislative session of 1919 the League was in complete control. The program of state socialism was therefore enacted into law. The

author cites the following League measures as the principal achievements:

(1) State Bank of North Dakota, with a capital of \$2,000,000, created to finance state flour mills, grain elevators, and other industries; also to loan money on farms, and to home builders—both rural and urban.

(2) State Industrial Commission created, with authority to proceed with the economic program.

(3) State Hail Insurance Law—a revision of the existing laws. Other measures mentioned are: revision of law on co-operative associations; reduction of intrastate railroad rates; tax laws, particularly income tax and exemption of certain forms of personal property; workmen's compensation; eight-hour law for women; union label on state printing; anti-injunction law; educational law depriving state superintendent of public instruction (an anti-Leaguer) of power; public printing bill creating one official paper in each of the fifty counties and authorizing the administration to select such paper (thus, in fact, subsidizing fifty League country newspapers).

The author brings the story of the League down to October 1, 1919, when it had 245,000 dues-paying members, 3 representatives in Congress, and an organization in 13 states. The League measures enacted in North Dakota in 1917 and 1919 have, says the author, already abolished high interest, high freight rate, high dockage, and the undergrading, underweighing, underpaying in the wheat market.

The book should be viewed as a clever piece of journalism, effective but inaccurate. It is an appeal to anger. Its major statements are largely disingenuous. It has the earmarks of being scientific; it cites references; it affects a certain restraint in statement. Yet the critical reader will find its "citations" *ex parte*, fragmentary, undated for the most part. The book is a good example of skilled juggling with half-truths. Thus the old abuses in the grain trade, particularly those of the line elevator companies were stopped by the now powerful farmers' elevator movement. The author, for instance, pictures the Equity Society of farmers as being fought and beaten by the line elevator combinations. As a matter of fact the Equity has become a big-line elevator company itself. The author's picture of grain inspection and grading in Minnesota, by a sampler in the car (p. 38), is wholly false. The sampler delivers his sample (taken by probing in all parts of the car) to the state laboratory, where trained grain inspectors employed by the state examine the grain and give it a grade defined by federal government regulations.

Again, as showing the failure of the author to tell the truth, we may cite the case of the grain-grading law enacted by the 1917 session of the League legislature and strengthened by the 1919 session: The president of the Agricultural College "was summoned" says the author, from his laboratory to be state inspector of grades, weights, and measures, and installed within the boundaries of the state a new system of grain grades based upon laboratory tests and milling values instead of weight and appearance" (p. 273). But what are the facts? In the bulletin, *North Dakota Grades*, issued May 25, 1918, by the president of the Agricultural College in his capacity of state inspector of grades, weights, and measures, occurs this statement on the first page:

The federal government has established grades for corn and all classes of wheat, so that all interstate shipments must be graded according to these standards. In order to avoid the confusion of a double standard and a dual inspection, we deem it advisable to adopt these standards: the said grain standards published in the *Government Service and Regulatory Announcement No. 33*, issued April 15, 1918, are hereby adopted and made part of the North Dakota grades.

The author's statements about grades, as well as many other matters, are misleading.

In short this book is not what it pretends to be—the facts about the Nonpartisan League.

JAMES E. BOYLE

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

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*The I.W.W. A Study of American Syndicalism.* By PAUL FREDERICK BRISSENDEN (Columbia University Studies). Second Edition. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1920. Pp. 424. \$4.00.

At a time like the present when the press and departments of justice are labeling strikes as "outlaw," "insurgent," and instigated by the I.W.W., and when revolts against denial of constitutional rights are being similarly characterized, it is well to have at hand this dispassionate work of Dr. Brissenden as a basis for a correct understanding of an overestimated but very active movement.

The book is not concerned with the philosophy of movement, nor does it present the dramatic pictures portrayed by Carleton Parker. The author has succeeded in his object of presenting a matter-of-fact description of the organization, its origin, structure, and history as drawn from "interviews, soap-box speeches, convention proceedings,